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CONTROL OF CITY CRIME

by

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CONTROL OF CITY CRIME

MOUNTING VIOLENCE on the streets of American cities, during the day as well as after nightfall, is intensifying the problems of police and other municipal authorities and causing alarm among plain citizens. The growing frequency of purse snatchings, armed robberies and more serious crimes endangers not only pedestrians and others but also law enforcement officers. The spread of street crime has been marked by an unprecedented number of attacks on policemen by persons resisting arrest and by hostile onlookers. Changing conditions of urban life are generally blamed for such examples of lack of respect for officers of the law, but they are believed to reflect also lack of adequate financial support of city police departments.

Rising crime rates have coincided with marked advances in police techniques, in standards for selection of personnel, and in police training methods, but many police departments have not been able to take full advantage of these developments. "It is tragic," Director J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation said a year ago, "that during an era when the ultimate in police protection lies within the grasp of every community, our profession is still being denied the wherewithal to fulfill its responsibilities."¹

UPSURGE OF URBAN CRIME IN THE PAST DECADE

The F.B.I.'s *Uniform Crime Reports*² have shown a steady upsurge of crime in cities over the past decade. More than 1.8 million serious offenses were reported during 1960, 14 per cent more than in 1959 and twice the number in 1950. Crime has been increasing faster than population. The 1960 rate (1,038 crimes per 100,000 population) was one-fourth higher than the average for the preceding five years, two-thirds higher than the 1950 rate

¹ Address before International Association of Chiefs of Police, Oct. 1, 1960.

² Compiled from reports by 7,000 police chiefs, sheriffs and state law enforcement officers.

and nearly double the 1940 rate. The F.B.I.'s 1960 "crime clock" showed four serious crimes committed every minute. Most of them were committed in the cities, where the arrest rate is three times higher than in rural areas.

The rising spiral of city crime continued into 1961. The F.B.I. reported a 10 per cent increase for the first quarter of this year compared with the corresponding three months of 1960. Forcible rape showed an ominous jump of 41 per cent in 28 cities with 250,000-500,000 population. A mid-year report on urban crime indicated a rise of 7 per cent in the first half of 1961 compared with the first half of 1960.

During the first six months of this year, Chicago had 183 murders, 667 forcible rapes, 4,401 aggravated assaults, and 22,107 burglaries. The figures for New York showed 22 murders, 395 rapes, 5,800 aggravated assaults, and 18,726 burglaries; for Los Angeles, 74 murders, 508 rapes, 3,750 aggravated assaults and 18,655 burglaries.

The amount of violent crime on the streets of New York has made this problem a prime issue in the current mayoralty race. Violent crimes have become so frequent in Washington, D. C., that a congressional committee held hearings last May to consider ways of dealing with the problem. Chairman James C. Davis (D Ga.) of the crime subcommittee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia said in his opening statement, May 17, that "Matters have reached a stage in Washington that decent law-abiding citizens, particularly women and girls, have come to be regarded as fair game for every brute, thug and hoodlum who roams the streets with one purpose in mind: to steal, rob, rape and murder."

HIGH RATIO OF JUVENILE CRIME; VICIOUS OFFENSES

Two aspects of city crime give particular concern: the large percentage of offenses committed by juveniles and the peculiarly brutal nature of some of the offenses. Juvenile arrests in the past decade have increased twice as fast as the number of children 10-17 years old. Children under 18 accounted for 14 per cent of all city arrests in 1960. They were involved in nearly two-thirds of the arrests for auto theft, one-half of the arrests in burglary and larceny cases, more than one-fourth of the arrests for robbery, one-fifth of the arrests for forcible rape, 12 per cent of the

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arrests for aggravated assault, and 8 per cent of the murder arrests.³

Some of the juvenile offenses have been of so brutal a nature that they are beyond the ordinary understanding of "delinquency." J. Edgar Hoover recently commented on "the vicious acts of vandalism, wanton brutality and mounting savagery which typify today's arrogant teen-age gangs." He cited the case of five youths, aged 15-18, who set upon two families in a Chicago park, beating the husbands senseless with baseball bats, knifing and robbing them, then raping their pregnant wives on threat of killing the small children. "Similar acts of brutal violence are perpetrated daily across the country by rampaging teen-age criminals," the F.B.I. chief said.⁴

LABOR DAY OUTBREAKS OF RIOTING BY TEEN-AGERS

Teen-age gangs are a recognized danger in poor and densely populated sections of big cities. But youngsters from other strata of society also may cause trouble by giving vent to their frustrations—or their exuberance—in disorderly behavior. Youths and juveniles, both white and Negro, have played a large part in street disturbances resulting from the desegregation conflict. Over last Labor Day week-end, moreover, youths from middle-class homes stirred up riots and near-riots in a number of resort communities.⁵ At Lake George, N. Y., fire hoses were used by the police to disperse a mob of 1,500 screaming, beer-can-hurling youths. In another type of Labor Day outbreak, the annual West Indies Day parade in the Harlem section of New York City was turned into a bottle-throwing brawl by police efforts to keep spectators from joining scantily clad dancers accompanying a calypso band float. Up to 1,000 teen-agers fought police in four separate outbreaks in a Los Angeles suburb on Oct. 7.

Another type of juvenile crime that has given police considerable trouble is arson. The International Association of Chiefs of Police reported last year that "The problem of the juvenile fire-setter . . . [was] one of the most serious problems facing police and fire officials." It cited a report

³ Girls are becoming increasingly involved in serious offenses; the number of arrests of girls under 18 was 14 per cent higher in 1960 than in 1959.

⁴ J. Edgar Hoover, "These Fighters Against Youth Crime Need Your Help," *Reader's Digest*, May 1961.

⁵ Resorts where the outbreaks occurred included Ocean City, Md.; Lake George, N. Y.; Wildwood, N. J.; Clermont, Ind.; Russells Point, Ohio; Hampton Beach, N. H.; and Falmouth and Hyannis, Mass.

of a special committee of the International Association of Arson Investigators as follows: "The trend of juvenile and teen-age fire-setting is continuing to soar upward. In many localities, juvenile arson has now become the number two cause of all fires reported. . . . The figures for 1959-60 show an increase of about 60 per cent over the previous year." Investigation of 157 fires in a large midwestern city showed that 91 were of incendiary origin.

GROWING FREQUENCY OF ATTACKS ON POLICEMEN

Crime in the streets has taken an ominous turn with the growth of attacks on policemen in big cities. Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco are among cities reporting a big increase in such attacks.

Hundreds of New York policemen have been injured and some hospitalized this year in the course of a kind of guerilla warfare waged by young hoodlums and others hostile to law enforcement officers. At the peak of the trouble, attacks on policemen averaged five a day; within a single month (July 1961) 300 officers were assaulted. So many policemen became targets of bricks, stones, bottles or garbage hurled from lofty vantage points that 300 members of the force were detailed to patrol rooftops in troublesome neighborhoods.

A man was killed on a New York street, Aug. 29, when struck by a brick intended for a policeman. The next day a state legislator riding in a car with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was badly cut by a beer can thrown by an unseen assailant. In Philadelphia last July, Mayor Richardson Dilworth was attacked by a crowd of 2,000 as he sought to explain a new parking regulation; after the mayor had got away, the mob stoned the police and smashed the window of the police commissioner's car.

Some attacks of this sort have been unprovoked demonstrations by juvenile toughs. But in many cases officers have been menaced by bystanders seeking to prevent arrests. The fatal brick-throwing incident in New York occurred as a patrolman struggled with a youth who had grabbed his nightstick, while a crowd of 200 milled about chanting "Police brutality!" One of the brick-throwers said after arrest that his purpose had been to "help the man get away." Policemen answering robbery or assault calls have been pushed, kicked, cursed, threatened and

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blocked from pursuing suspects by persons not involved in the initial offense but whose sympathies were with the troublemaker rather than with the guardian of the law.

"I have read that it has become unsafe for our citizens to walk upon the city streets," a Brooklyn judge commented on Sept. 5, "but what is more shocking is that it has become unsafe for the police officer to walk his beat." The judge urged swift prosecution of persons charged with attacking officers of the law. The New York police department in early September began distributing a handbill, *Law and Order Is a Two-Way Street*, calling on the public to help policemen in discharge of their duties.

Efforts of police to break up brawls are always hazardous. Four hundred junior high school students rioted outside a police station in Newark, N. J., for an hour and a half on Sept. 2. They were trying to prevent policemen from taking in a teen-ager who had snatched an officer's gun and threatened to kill him. Stones rained down from rooftops during the melee; two firemen and a policeman were injured.

Reports to the F.B.I. from 3,727 cities for the year 1960 showed that six of every 100 policemen—9,621 in all—were assaulted, and many seriously injured, during that year. Forty-eight policemen were killed in line of duty. The loss of manpower from injuries presents a serious problem. Philadelphia reportedly lost 17,000 man-hours as the result of attacks on police last year, and the losses this year have been running higher.⁶

Obstacles to Effective Police Action

CRIME AND DISORDER have always been most prevalent in cities, and much of the recent increase in lawlessness is attributed to growth of the proportion of the population living in urban areas. Population movements in the central cities of metropolitan areas are apt to cause spread of crime-breeding slums, while the growth of suburbs creates law enforcement problems of a different kind. Joseph D. Lohman, sociologist and former sheriff of Cook

⁶ "Where Even Police Are Not Safe," *U.S. News & World Report*, Oct. 9, 1961, p. 109.

County, Ill., has pointed out that hoodlums may range freely over the great expanses of a metropolitan area, but that "Police operations have been hamstrung by the requirement that they be carried on within limited jurisdictions and with the limited resources which small local governmental units are able to make available for law enforcement purposes."

The police in most metropolitan communities are not completely free to enforce the law. That freedom is restricted in many ways . . . [by] local political influence which holds the police in check; insufficient manpower; inadequate skill and training; a weak organization and administration; [or] limited authority and jurisdiction.⁷

Most people, said Lohman, "do not see that the welter of separate and inadequate police units unnecessarily aggravates the crime problem."

INADEQUATE POLICE BUDGETS; LOW PAY SCALES

J. Edgar Hoover recently complained that "Inadequate budgets have become a perennial problem with far too many law enforcement agencies." The F.B.I. estimates that local police departments employ approximately two persons for every 1,000 of population; this ratio is somewhat larger than in past years, but there is question whether it has risen enough considering the growing magnitude of police problems.⁸

Relatively low pay scales hamper maintenance of a police force even at the strength authorized by the municipal budget; rapid turnover of personnel is a continuing problem. Hoover pointed out on Oct. 1, 1960, that starting pay for policemen in some cities (as low as \$175 a month on a 48-hour week in one western city) is less than the amount the same government pays a beginning stenographer. "It is no wonder that many police departments have trouble recruiting qualified personnel and retaining competent officers," Hoover said.

Police Chief Robert V. Murray of Washington, D. C.,

⁷ Joseph D. Lohman, "Political Apathy—Functions of Urban Transition," in H. Warren Dunham, ed., *The City in Mid-Century* (1957), p. 56.

⁸ There is no universally applicable standard for the size of a police force relative to population. Determining factors include geographical peculiarities, traffic conditions, number of pool rooms, taverns and other places where disorders are frequent, racial distribution of the population, and the absence or prevalence of heavy industry which "may attract a class of people whose frequently boisterous use of leisure time presents a trying problem of police control."—International City Managers Association, *Municipal Police Administration* (Fifth edition, 1961), pp. 49-50.

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told a congressional committee on May 17 that he had had difficulty filling vacancies because many who applied were not up to the standards of his force; of 1,000 applicants for a written police examination, only 32 were found acceptable. New York City police recently set up recruiting booths around the city and sent recruiting officers to high schools and colleges.

Because of low pay, many cities allow policemen to take second jobs in off-hours, although usually the department must approve the type of job and the hours worked.⁹ Even where this practice is barred, as in New York and Philadelphia, many officers are known to ignore the regulation. A Chicago police department newsletter, July 14, observed that "Unless an officer is given an opportunity to supplement his income with outside earnings, he might be forced to leave the force entirely and take some job that pays more."¹⁰

Despite low pay and undermanning of police forces, the cost of running the departments is high. American cities spent \$1.2 billion on police protection in the year ended June 30, a rise from \$816 million five years earlier. But not all of the total outlay went directly into crime control. Experts complain that even the patrolman, the backbone of crime control, has to spend too much time on paper work that ought to be handled by clerks and stenographers.

HOSTILITY TO POLICE AMONG THE UNASSIMILATED

A famous criminologist once observed that "Anti-social conduct and crime are likely to flourish in heterogeneous groups where rapidly changing and conflicting standards of conduct exert a disorganizing influence upon the personalities of their members."¹¹ And a veteran police chief of a West Coast city has pointed out: "It would be difficult to devise a combination of factors more conducive to crime and disorder than is found in the typical great city of the United States." Rarely does history record "so many people of varied beliefs and modes of conduct grouped together in so competitive and complex a social structure."¹²

⁹ A survey by the International Association of Chiefs of Police showed that four-fifths of the 1,500 departments covered allowed officers to take off-duty jobs.

¹⁰ A survey of Chicago policemen holding second jobs showed that the majority were employed as clerks, salesmen, post office workers, security guards, delivery men, gas station attendants, and skilled laborers.—"Moonlighting in Chicago," *The Police Chief*, August 1961, p. 20.

¹¹ Thorsten Sellin, "Crime," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (1937), Vol. III, p. 568.

¹² William H. Parker, "The Police Challenge in Our Great Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1954, p. 5.

In a small town of homogeneous and stable population, the policeman is likely to know and be known to most of the people who live or work on his beat, and he is likely to share their interests, attitudes and standards. This was particularly true in the days when nearly all policemen walked their beats. The foot patrolman was in an excellent position to nip trouble before it got out of hand. "Many times," reminisced the chief of the Seattle police force recently, "an officer seized a kid by the seat of his pants and took him home to his parents." Agreement between the policeman and the community on standards of behavior for juveniles on the streets reinforced this method of keeping young people out of trouble.

The conditions which made police work of this kind effective no longer obtain in many sections of large cities, especially in the old neighborhoods whose long-time inhabitants have been replaced by new families with different backgrounds, attitudes and customs. A police journal pointed out last winter the difficulty of policing a neighborhood in a northern city to which Negro families from the South had moved "bringing with them their own customs and traditions, some of which are in conflict with the local law."¹³ Prof. Ron La Couture of the Department of Police Administration at St. Petersburg (Fla.) Junior College and former police chief of Mackinac Island, Mich., has observed that "Much of the conduct with which the policeman is concerned is involved in the group competition which is a phenomenon of our age."

This clash is either racial, social or economic. The friction which it entails has serious consequences for the policeman because the individual with whom the policeman must clash . . . is the symbol of his group. To become involved with such an individual is to invite the resentment of the entire group.¹⁴

Crime and disorder are worst in the slums, not only because of frustrations among slum dwellers and because a large part of their lives may be lived on the streets, but also because here the barrier between policeman and community is highest. People strange to the customs of the dominant element in a community are more likely to regard the policeman as adversary than as friend. Even

¹³ Richard H. Blum, "The Problems of Being a Police Officer, *Police*, January-February 1961, p. 35.

¹⁴ Ron La Couture, "The Police, the Press and Public Relations," *Police*, July-August 1961, p. 38.

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normally law-abiding members of an underprivileged minority are apt to avoid contact with the police and to sympathize with an offender belonging to their own group. Some of them may express covert or even open hostility to the police.

CLEAVAGE BETWEEN POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY

If the cleavage between police and community existed only in the slums or among those alien to the culture of the majority, a solution might be found in measures to raise the standards of the economically and culturally deprived. But even more serious, according to some police officials, is the barrier that seems to have grown up between the police and the middle class which sets community standards.

Numerous theories are offered to explain the detachment of the average citizen of this country from his police protector. Some say the American is naturally resistant to regulatory authority; one expert even goes so far as to say in many ways the United States has a criminal society. "Too many people want the laws to apply [only] to the other fellow."¹⁵ Typical of expressions of this view is the following:

The American citizen . . . resists any efforts to control his personal freedom. This American . . . revolt against authority is traditional.

No other form of public service is more likely to cause ill feeling among the public it serves than is the agency whose duty it is to enforce the laws and restrict the citizen's activities and control his conduct. Actually it is the governmental agency which restricts the activities of its citizens . . . [but the individual] regards its symbol—the policeman—as the cause of his troubles and his resentment is reserved for the officer.¹⁶

Police officials often blame the popular media of communication for damaging public confidence in their forces by picturing policemen as stupid, illiterate, brutal or corrupt. Others say repeated disclosures of police corruption have made the public receptive to this concept of the "cop."¹⁷ Police officials feel that the scandals have been given undue emphasis in the press and other media.

¹⁵ Richard H. Blum, "The Problems of Being a Police Officer," *Police*, January-February 1961, p. 35.

¹⁶ G. Douglas Gourley, "Police Public Relations," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1954, p. 137.

¹⁷ Forty-one Denver policemen have been arrested since August 1960 on charges of operating a burglary ring or of receiving pay-offs from local vice operations. Members of the Kansas City police department were accused by a grand jury, Oct. 10, of receiving regular monthly payments to protect gambling parlors.

Others attribute the cleavage between citizen and policeman to the multiplicity of regulatory laws, many of minor nature, which have tended to weaken distinctions between law-abiding people and lawbreakers. In other days the policeman's main task was to protect the public against holdup men, burglars, and like criminals, and every decent citizen was willing to cooperate. But today many of the policeman's duties have to do, not with the activities of dangerous criminals, but with enforcement of regulations on the conduct of ordinary citizens. And many of those citizens resent what they consider police interference. The automobile has played a large part in creating this attitude. Traffic regulations make nearly everyone a potential offender. The automobile "has established a new kind of law violator who cannot be treated with the clear-cut distinctions previously held to separate the 'good' people from the 'bad' people."¹⁸

Authorities frequently cite the deleterious effect on crime control of the negative public attitude toward the police. Without the support and cooperation of the public, arrests and convictions may be more difficult to carry out and increased appropriations harder to obtain. Lack of respect for the police on the part of adults, moreover, is quickly picked up by children and may lead them to outright defiance of police authority.

COURT RULINGS AND PROSECUTION COMPLICATIONS

Nothing is so exasperating to law enforcement officers as court rulings that quash cases against proved offenders on the ground that police methods were in violation of the defendant's civil rights. Many leading police officials, from J. Edgar Hoover down, are convinced that court concern for the rights of the individual, as they apply in criminal prosecutions, has gone too far, making police work more difficult than necessary, damaging police morale, and endangering public safety.

In an address before the police chiefs' association a year ago, Hoover spoke of "the vast area of legal technicalities and delays" available to criminals before the bar of justice. Conflicting rulings of courts, including those of the U.S. Supreme Court, on search and seizure had created "confusion and uncertainty . . . within the law enforcement profession." Hoover lashed out against lenient sentences,

¹⁸ International City Managers Association, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

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"undeserved paroles, probationary terms . . . politically expedient pardons" and softness toward juveniles who commit vicious crimes. "Officers risk their lives to bring hardened offenders to justice only to have them unleashed on society again," he said. As a result, "Society pays a terrible price in the toll of innocent citizens ravished or murdered."

According to Director Virgil W. Peterson of the Chicago Crime Commission, "Thousands of guilty persons over the country are turned loose every year because some courts do not approve of the manner in which evidence was obtained."¹⁹ In a report on Chicago crime, Peterson pointed out that in most jurisdictions, rulings in favor of defendants in criminal cases may not be appealed. "Hence those judges who are jealous of maintaining a low record of reversals never need fear as long as the ruling is in favor of the defendant."²⁰

Few court decisions in recent years have caused so strong a reaction among police officials as did the Supreme Court ruling in the Mallory case.²¹ The decision reversed a conviction for rape in the District of Columbia on the ground that there had been unnecessary delay, in violation of federal rules of criminal procedure, between the time of the defendant's arrest and the time he was taken before a committing magistrate to be apprised of his right to counsel and his right to refuse to incriminate himself. Mallory had been arrested at 2:30 in the afternoon but not taken before a magistrate until the next morning, after he had confessed.²² Oliver Gasch, then U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia, asserted that the Mallory decision put "a severe limitation upon interrogation" of criminal suspects.

Although the Mallory decision applied directly only in federal jurisdictions, including the District of Columbia, it had an impact on law enforcement procedures at other levels. Prosecutors feared that the rule might be extended to the states through the 14th amendment. In any

¹⁹ Virgil W. Peterson, "The Crooks Get All the Breaks," *Saturday Evening Post*, Sept. 23, 1961, p. 13.

²⁰ Chicago Crime Commission, *A Report on Chicago Crime for 1959* (July 26, 1960), p. 19.

²¹ *Mallory v. United States*, 354 U.S. 449 (1957).

²² In 1960, three years after his release as a result of the Supreme Court decision, Mallory was arrested in Philadelphia for rape and burglary, found guilty of burglary and aggravated assault, and sentenced to 11½ to 23 years in the penitentiary.

case, many states had adopted the federal rules of criminal procedure and their courts would tend to follow federal interpretations of those rules.

Gasch told the police chiefs at their meeting last year that "There is no question . . . that . . . law enforcement today is more difficult than it has ever been." He added: "Any time a case is based largely upon a confession and particularly when the confession is obtained following protracted questioning prior to bringing the arrested person before a committing magistrate, the courts are likely to be increasingly suspicious." He warned that "Cases must be better prepared, action . . . taken more expeditiously and officers . . . better trained."²³

Public indignation over the release of known offenders as a result of legal technicalities has aroused fear that there may be a rising demand to dispense with traditional safeguards against the misuse of police power. In *The Price of Liberty* (1961) Alan Barth has warned that concern over the crime rate may lead to "hysteria . . . expressed in a destructive readiness to throw aside for the sake of safety the very rights which, under the American political theory, governments are instituted to secure."

U.S. Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., in a review of the Barth book, expressed the view that when known offenders are released by the courts on a so-called "legal technicality," the fault lies not with the court or the constitutional safeguard, but with the "blundering constable." In actual practice, Brennan said, appellate courts rarely overturn a lower court decision "if justice has been done." He added: "Even infractions of rules of criminal procedure are usually disregarded if they raise no serious doubt that substantial rights were affected. The day is long since past in most jurisdictions when any irregularity . . . will spell reversal of a successful prosecution."²⁴

²³ The Supreme Court put a limit on state police activity when it ruled, June 19, 1961, that evidence obtained by search or seizure in violation of the U.S. Constitution was inadmissible in state criminal trials, as it had been for half a century in federal trials. The Court refused on Oct. 9 to reconsider this decision.

²⁴ *Washington Post*, Oct. 8, 1961.

New Aids to Urban Law Enforcement

THE FIRST police organizations in American cities followed the watch and ward system originated in London in the 13th century. The police force consisted of a group of night watchmen responsible to an elected constable. Boston in 1838 was the first city to put policemen on day duty. Uniforms for policemen were not widely adopted until several decades later. The amount of police protection afforded city dwellers before the Civil War was meager. The head of the police department, as an elected officer, had no assurance of continuity of service; he was usually deeply involved in local politics and made little effort to develop an efficient, disciplined force.

Least protection was given the public in new towns and cities on the western frontier, where rowdy elements and an absence of street lighting made it hazardous to go out at night. Public funds to hire officers of the law were not made available in any substantial amount, except for brief periods to combat a particularly bad outbreak of crime. Fear of slave insurrections was the chief impetus to organization of regular police forces in southern communities.

The typical policeman of early days was not a man of high character, and at times he was as much a menace to the law-abiding citizen as the criminal. An historical study of frontier cities notes, for example, that in Lexington, Ky., in the early part of the 19th century, authorities received constant complaints about "improprieties," "delinquency," and "sundry misdemeanors and neglect of duty" on the part of the police. The public, on the other hand, did not always make it easy for the policeman to do his duty. "Teen-agers and rowdies loved to 'bait the watch' and even adults obstructed their work. In no town in 1815 were the police strong enough to quell riots or major disorders or even to stop waves of vandalism."²⁵

After 1850, the larger cities began to establish boards composed of leading citizens to oversee their police departments. This was regarded as a major reform, but in practice board control proved to be "not only inexpert but meddling" and "both police management and police protec-

²⁵ Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier* (1959), p. 89.

tion continued to flounder in political uncertainty, intrigue, partisanship and corruption."²⁶

State legislatures then moved to put local police forces under state authorities, but this method of supervision proved inefficient and costly and control was eventually returned to the locality. Today the characteristic features of the American police system are local management and direction by a single appointed administrator.

USE OF TWO-WAY RADIO AND K-9 CORPS BY POLICE

Striking changes in police operations in recent years have been not so much in administration as in techniques of crime detection and law enforcement.

A principal aspect of this change appears in the adaptation and application of scientific methods and apparatus to the detection of crime and to judicial proof, in improved transportation facilities, in faster and more effective communications, in the improvement of police records and . . . methods for the selection and training of personnel.²⁷

Fingerprinting, the polygraph (lie detector), chemical testing for intoxication, photography and sound recording, laboratory analysis, and radio and teletype communication are well-known devices of modern police technology.

One of the newest devices is a small two-way radio that can be carried by foot patrolmen. The walkie-talkie unit is less than twice the size of a package of cigarettes, weighs 14 ounces and is worn on the policeman's belt, with a flexible receiving antenna clipped inside the trouser leg. Washington, D. C., recently began trying out this device and within a few days it proved its usefulness; a radio-equipped officer signaled for help during a cafe fracas and was joined within 30 seconds by a dozen fellow officers.

Police in some cities carry a pocket transistor radio on which they receive but cannot send messages. Dayton traffic policemen wear these radios on their belts to get information or orders from headquarters or from police vehicles. Cleveland police reduced thefts of automobiles from 300 to 80 cases a month by use of the "handie-talkie," a portable radiotelephone which enabled policemen at observation posts to signal pursuit cars stationed five or six blocks away. The "handie-talkie" can also be used with

²⁶ International City Managers' Association, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

²⁷ International City Managers' Association, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

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loudspeaker for crowd control. Closed-circuit television has been used to transmit "line-ups" of suspects.

Almost as helpful, in the opinion of some police chiefs, is a non-mechanical aid: the police dog. German shepherd dogs have long been used for police work in Europe, and in the past half dozen years a growing number of U.S. police forces have added K-9 corps.²⁸ The dogs are trained to work with a single policeman who usually houses the dog in his own home. Police dogs are not vicious; they are taught to bring down a fugitive by the arm or leg but not to inflict serious injury.

Objections to use of dogs in police work include the cost and inconvenience of maintaining them, the necessity of assigning each dog to a particular officer, and the possibility that a dog might go after the wrong person. But cities which use the dogs feel that they are well worth the trouble, expense, and any risk involved. Their speed in pursuing a fleeing suspect, their acute sense of smell and hearing in tracking down fugitives, and the fear they arouse in wrongdoers have proved valuable assets. The dogs have been found particularly useful in handling disorderly crowds and flushing out possibly dangerous suspects from unlighted doorways or alleys during night patrols. Chicago has put them on duty with a special squad assigned to intensive patrol of areas where muggings, riots and other street crimes occur frequently.

CRIME STATISTICS AND UTILIZATION OF MANPOWER

The successful police chief is said to accept the premise that his force cannot prevent all crimes and disorders and therefore properly concentrates on keeping wrongdoing within reasonable bounds.²⁹ One of the major instruments under development to achieve this limited objective is analysis of crime reports as a guide to deployment of police manpower. A special committee created by the International Association of Chiefs of Police in November 1958 put highest priority on the need for research to help police officials "predict the incidence of crime and called-for police services by area and time."

²⁸ Dogs are used by at least 23 police forces in the United States, according to reports to the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Cities with K-9 corps include Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Denver, Houston, Richmond, Springfield, Mo., St. Louis, St. Paul, Salt Lake City and Washington, D. C.

²⁹ Studies have shown, for example, that murder most often climaxes a situation which the police, no matter how numerous, could not possibly have prevented.

With the increase in the size of our cities and the growing crime rate, we need better systems for predicting criminal activity. Our men are spread thinner and they have a bigger job to do. We must know where to put them to get the best results.³⁰

To develop more flexibility in the use of its force, Chicago organized a special squad of 250 uniformed and plain-clothes policemen as a "mobile task force" to give intensive coverage to areas where crime takes a sudden upward spurt. St. Louis assigns a smaller number of men and women in plain clothes in areas where there have been frequent holdups and purse-snatchings; the officers carry walkie-talkies to communicate with squad cars.

In another effort to make more effective use of police manpower, a few cities have hired prospective but underage recruits for the force to help out on the paperwork required of regular policemen. In Oakland, Calif., patrolmen deposit handwritten reports in call boxes, to be picked up by squad cars, to save time the officer would otherwise spend returning to headquarters to type his reports.

BETTER POLICE TRAINING; POLICE AND STREET RIOTS

If there is one recommendation for improvement of police work on which all students of law enforcement agree, it is that the policeman of the future must be a better educated man. Police training has taken great strides since the 1930s, when the movement received a major impetus from recommendations of the Wickersham report.³¹ But it is generally recognized that police forces in many communities are still not adequately prepared for their complex duties.

Leaders in the field often speak of professionalization of police forces. They look to a day when law enforcement officers will not only possess the obvious skills needed in police work but also have had a broad knowledge of many other subjects, from sociology to the law. But they concede that that day is far off. However, expansion of training courses for men in the ranks and raising of the educational qualifications of specialists and administrators indicate a trend in that direction.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police lists

³⁰ Robert V. Murray, Washington, D. C., police chief and 1960-61 president of International Association of Chiefs of Police, Oct. 1, 1960.

³¹ This was the 1931 report of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, appointed by President Hoover in May 1929.

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76 institutions of higher learning in 27 states which offer courses, most of them leading to an A.B. degree in law enforcement; a number of the institutions offer graduate courses leading to a master's degree or even a doctorate. The upward push in standards for police work is indicated by the growing number of police chiefs who have held professorships or who have edited professional journals.

For men in the ranks, however, the educational or even the training level is far from ideal. The police chiefs' association has been pushing for state legislation to establish minimum training standards, but only one state, New York, has adopted a law setting up mandatory training requirements. In the same year (1960) California created a statutory commission to establish minimum training standards but left it up to the localities to decide whether to comply with standards so established. State funds are to be available to localities for development of training programs in compliance with the standards. Several other states—Michigan, Nevada, North Dakota, Texas—have recently considered similar legislation for mandatory police training.

In-service training programs are fairly general, although in some cases the training consists largely of assigning rookies to accompany a veteran officer on his rounds. Available to all police departments are the training facilities of the F.B.I., which will help a local force set up a training program and furnish materials and instructors. Annual attendance at F.B.I. schools for recruits and specialists has hovered around 75,000.

Interest in special training of police for riot control has been heightened by racial conflicts arising out of public school desegregation. A Southern Regional Council report, *Racial Violence and Law Enforcement* (1961), has attributed the success of some southern cities in keeping down street disorders during periods of racial tension to the effectiveness of such training and of preparations for possible emergencies. An important element of the training is impressing on police officers the importance of impartial dealings with both white and black demonstrators.





